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Aspects of Tucano Culture: Cosmogony
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Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

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[122] /Page 98 is blank./

/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

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[101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

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[171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilisima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquilé and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

131 /99 cont./

167 As is seen, the Tukano group is found distributed both in Colombian territory and Brazilian, and the migratory movements of natives between these two countries are quite frequent.

241 The Tukano work the land by means of the slash-and-burn

[462] method. The piece of ground intended for agriculture is always cleaned of underbrush and trees by the /100/ men, a job at which each man works individually or assisted by his male relatives. At one time, before the arrival of the Creole rubber workers in the region, the trees and underbrush were cut with stone axes, but since the arrival of the rubber worker the machete has been introduced, and today no Tukano Indian would consider using the lithic instrument again.

[242] Trees of great size are generally left in the place in which they fell, but small trees and bushes are burned toward the end of summer, or the dry season. The ashes obtained from the burning are used as fertilizer to improve the soil, but owing to the thin vegetal layer, to erosion, and to the general poorness of the land, the Tukano Indian is obliged to select and clear a new garden every three or four years. The method of crop rotation is not practiced because the forest vegetation rapidly returns to invade the land that is not cultivated and tended. The field under cultivation rarely exceeds one or two hectares.

[412] The planting is done immediately after finishing the burning, among the stumps of the felled trees and the trunks of the toppled trees. Probably the only aboriginal implement used in the planting is the planter's stick (2),

2. Digging-stick /this term is given in English/.

which is used primarily to loosen the earth and to open holes in it for planting seeds or young plants. The ground is rarely cultivated and tended after the planting is done, but weeds are pulled out and care is taken that the forest does not invade the garden.

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Just as the cutting and burning of the forest undergrowth from land intended for agriculture is the exclusive work of the men, the planting, the care of the garden, and the harvesting are tasks done solely and exclusively by the women. A man would be considered diminished in his masculinity by the rest of the society if he devoted himself to these tasks. The only exception in this case is the cultivation of coca and tobacco, in which the man is the one who does all the work, from the planting and care to the harvesting and processing.

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Although bitter yuca is the most important crop among the Tukano Indians, they also have plantings of pineapple, papaya, plantains, flame (3),

3. Dioscorea Lindmanii Uline.

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[437]

maize, sugar cane, coca, tobacco, /101/ and lemons. The pineapple, the papaya, and the plantain are products utilized principally in the barter with the rubber workers for articles such as salt, cigarettes, matches, ammunition, flashlight batteries, soap, etc.

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Hunting, in the Tukano culture, fills the important function of providing the members of the community with meat in the alimentation. Before the arrival of the rubber workers along the Vaupés, the hunting of mammals was done by means of the bow and arrow, while birds were hunted with darts shot by means of a blowgun, the points of which had been bathed in curare. At present, the shotgun, obtained through work in the rubber plantations, has replaced the bow and arrow. For the hunting of small birds, the poisoned dart and the blowgun are still being used.

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Hunting is done during the night, and generally it is done individually. In hunting the animal is not hunted and pursued through the forest, but awaited at the water holes on the shores of the rivers and streams. The native who goes after game remains in his canoe and uses his lantern both to distinguish the animal by the color of his eyes and to blind it momentarily and thus have

224 /101 cont./

[251] time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
 [439] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
 [437] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
 preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through
 the rubber workers.

226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
 146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimen-
 tation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the
 presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indis-
 pensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes,
 the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and
 of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival
 of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced.
 The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water
 without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours
 later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
 [178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a
 fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by
 means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated
 animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds,
 dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were
 their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
 231 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
 262 are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
 [439] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of
 [437] the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the
 native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided
 roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The
 front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and
 constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

342 /102 cont./

[824]

There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing.

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The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

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The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish *caseríos*/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

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Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayúco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

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The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./

291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among
persons of advanced age and in general among natives who re-
side quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation
of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which
these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If
the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in
case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man,
any woman of the community does this work, and the single man
contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same
rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is
[751] simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration
[413] of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden
pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means
of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained
as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the
coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as
the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time.
For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians
have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence,
they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./

abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social stratification with castes.

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[797] Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred. The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fish-hook than with the trap.

[182] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia, and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

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[14] The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant, Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River.

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797 /105 cont./

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the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.

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Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settlement and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny; he has two wives.

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The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is considered a good healer and is called from great distances to give his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

Cosmogony

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The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

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4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowf were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowf were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowf came a Tukano presidente (5).

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5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowf also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowf came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

* 539 /106 cont./

Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, and he is named (6)

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6. Here the interpreter uses the present indicative of the verb llamarse /"to be called" or "to be named"/; he discontinues in this form the use of the imperfect indicative of the same verb.

Yepára Suf, and these people were the ones who made the money for all the Tukano. The money used by the Tukano were feathers of all kinds. Feathers represented wealth for the Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, and he is named Ajúsiro Sóbaro, who was the first lieutenant of all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, and he is named Yúpurí Pamó, and he was the architect of all the malocas (houses) of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, who was named Yepára Merú, and this was the corps (musicians) for the official feasts. From Diaojpekowf came another man, who is named Doétiro Mímisiapé, and he is the maker of fine articles: such as mamatisjé (this means paint for the face, and in Geral is called carayurú), such as perfumes of all kinds and fine herbs of every kind for beautifying all the Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, and he is named Ajkíto Patíro, and he was the propagandist of the politics of the Tukano. From Diaojpekowf came another man, who is named Kemáru Kukú, and he was like a captain of the army of the Tukano, but Ajúsiro Sóbaro gave orders to Kemáru Kukú. From Diaojpekowf came another man, who is named Urémirí Sáraro, and he was in charge of all the Republic of the Tukano, he was a kind of Ministro de Gobierno /Minister of Government/ (7).

7. Example of transculturization.

And he was in charge of all the land of the Tukano; and this same gentleman was in charge of and guarded the spirits of Yuruparí.

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/106 cont./

which in Tukano is called Miriapurajeripura. And Urémiri Sáraro also guarded the bows and arrows and the fighting sticks, and he had a fine thing, like the habit of a cloth painted with all kinds of colors, which he guarded for all the Tukano. When the congress met (8),

8. Transculturization.

he gave orders that the delegates would dress with this fine cloth painted with all the colors which is called Miriapurasutiro in the language of the Tukano. And Urémiri Sáraro was also in charge of the education of the Tukano, and in the school were taught things of payé (9),

9. Shaman.

which in Tukano is called Yaf. From the school came payéa who divined, blew diseases, interpreted dreams, and this last is called Kúmu, because he blows and divines. Yaf /107/ made angry thunder when someone died. This is because, when someone dies, the payés make angry thunder and make lightning and rain from the anger that they have. In the same school they taught the national anthem (10)

10. Transculturization.

of the Tukano; the one who taught all this was Urémiri Sáraro. In the school they taught discipline for the army and for all the Tukano, for example, to march and to shoot, and this discipline was very clear. Discipline signified a large gũfo /a very large aquatic snake; this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. The armies and the civilians jumped on a gũfo to have courage, because it was very dangerous to jump on a gũfo, because the gũfo also killed people. Urémiri Sáraro also taught Amonumiabasero, which means that the girls who were still virgins would get married, that they would be

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beautiful, and for this he blew them. He blew the water and they drank the water, he also blew them with tobacco smoke. Urémiri Sáraro also taught speeches, for example, for presenting the flag and explaining the meaning of the coat of arms (11).

11. Transculturization.

The Miriapurasutiro, which was the garment of cloth of many colors that Urémiri Sáraro guarded, was the coat of arms and the flag of the Tukano. From Diaojekowf came another man, who is named Parisf, and his duty was to kill with prayers the other people who were not Tukano. And he taught the men of the maloca of Parisf how to kill the other people who were not Tukano. And Parisf knew how to blow, but the blowings were not to cure sickness, but so that the Parisf would have many sons and daughters. And Parisf was like a Ministre de Hygiene /Minister of Health/. From Diaojekowf came another man, who was named Yúpuri Búbera, and his duty was to make a very fine drink that all the Tukano drank at very special feasts. These feasts were for dancing, for making speeches, for talking about the history of the Tukano (12).

12. The Tukano cosmogony.

and for the Tukano to have a good time. This drink is called Cajpf in Tukano, but Cajpf was not drunk at all the feasts. Cajpf was drunk only for the feasts of Miriapurajeripura (Yuruparf) and of Dabukurf. Today Cajpf is still prepared and drunk. And Yúpuri Búbera had a drum, and Yúpuri Búbera played this drum when Cajpf was drunk. When Yúpuri Búbera died, the drum was still played, and his tribe played the drum. And Yúpuri Búbera had a special piece of furniture /108/ for all the Tukano, and the life of all the Tukano depended on this piece of furniture. If this piece of furniture broke, all the Tukano would die. And Yúpuri Búbera knew the song of Miriapurajeripura (Yuruparf), and he did not

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/108 cont./

teach this song of Miriapurajeripura to anyone. And this song of Miriapurajeripura was only for two tribes, which were: Yúpurí Búbera and Urémirí Sáraro. And Yúpurí Búbera knew how to weave the small fine feathers that cost a lot of money, and when they were woven in a kind of fabric, he gave them to Urémirí Sáraro and Yúpurí Búbera to wear. And afterwards Yúpurí Búbera guarded the spirit of the malocas of all the Tukano. And Yúpurí Búbera caught a hawk, which is called Aapajké in Tukano, and this hawk was to have things taken from it for divination. He took out the finest feathers that the hawk had, and the feathers were to be blown, and, when they were blown, he put the feathers in his ears, and Yúpurí Búbera became payé (Yaf and Kúmu). Yúpurí Búbera took some fine and thin little sticks, and he buried them in the ground standing upright, and he did this to sing to them. After singing to them, Yúpurí Búbera spoke with all the Tukano so that they would respect him. And Yúpurí Búbera was the governor of all the departments of the Tukano. And all these of whom we have spoken were the high class, the governing ones, the generals of all the Tukano.

Now we are going to speak of the tribes who are also Tukano, but who belong to the lower class, those who could not be commanders.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Nájorí Dípé, and he was like the sergeant of the army of the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Ajúsiro Merí, and he was the police sergeant of the army of the Tukano.

From Diaojpekowí came another man, who was named Urémirí Sórupo, and he was like the second lieutenant (13)

13. Acculturation. The hierarchical title that the interpreter gives to the different Tukano chiefs can not be considered from the point of view of the military and police hierarchy that exists in Colombia.

of the army of the Tukano.

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From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Ajuairo Túro, and he was first corporal of the army of all the Tukano. And he was a great fighter, and sometimes he did not pay attention to his superior chiefs.

/109/ From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Ditápura, and he was like second corporal of the army of all the Tukano.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Ajkto Kuá, who was like the third corporal of the army of all the Tukano.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Ajkto Yujuro, and he was the one who carried the arrows and the bows and the sticks /Spanish palos, sticks, cudgels/ and the food for all the army of the Tukano.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Bujpuápura, and it was he who taught all the army of the Tukano how to handle the bows and the arrows and the sticks.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Ajpué Kerlá, and he was the chief of the guerrillas who went out in commission to put order in other tribes, because among the Tukano there was no fighting among themselves.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Wuá, and this gentleman had as his duty to fight for the Tukano only at night. He was like a nocturnal army.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Doé Yukaró, and this gentleman also had his army, and also fought at night.

And all these Tukano of whom we have spoken, of the lower class, were under the orders of Urémiri Sáraro.

The tribes that were under the orders of Yúpuri Baúro are:

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Umu Saaf, and this gentleman had an army that was the personal guard of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekows came another man, who was named Kemáru Dasirí, and he was the chief of an army that was at the personal service of Yúpuri Baúro.

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From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Urémí Sakuró, and he was the chief of another army that was also under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Yáltoro, who was the chief of an army that also was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Suf /110/ Amoperf, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Arú Perf, and he, too, was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Bojsóka Perf, who also was the chief of an army that was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Ajkíto Bitóro, and that one was indeed like the chief of Umu Sasf, Kemáru Dasírf, Urémí Sakuró, Yáltoro, Suf Amoperf, Arú Perf, and Bojsóka Perf. And Ajkíto Bitóro was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro, and he was very brave.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Báya Purá, and he, too, was like Ajkíto Bitóro, because he, too, commanded Umu Sasf, Kemáru Dasírf, Urémí Sakuró, Yáltoro, Suf Amoperf, Arú Perf, and Bojsóka Perf; and also commanded Ajkíto Bitóro.

From Diaoipekowl came another man, who was named Mfo Putf, and he was brave too and fought at night. He, too, was under the personal orders of Yúpuri Baúro. Ajkíto Bitóro could command Mfo Putf.

In Diaoipekowl remained a man named Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke gave cashírf (Péru) (14)

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14. Chicha made by means of the fermentation of the boiled juice of bitter yuca, to which is also added cooked flame /Dioscorea/ and pieces of casabe /cassava or cassava bread/.

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to Yúpuri Baúro to drink and gave him tobacco (Manró) to smoke and gave him coca (Páto) to eat and then he made him sleep. When Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro was asleep, he took out a rib from the left side, then he took out a bone from the left thigh, then he took out a bone from the left forearm; after all this, Yepá /sic/ Huáke took a little dirt, and with all this, the bones and the dirt, Yepá Huáke made a doll; he took out a flue pipe (Ueouf) and with his own breath he blew through the flue pipe on the forehead of the doll. After blowing, he made the doll and Yúpuri Baúro wake up. And the doll became a woman, and this woman was the sister of Yúpuri Baúro, and she was named Yepára Dujuso (15).

15. The creation of the first Tukano woman by Yepá Huáke has a great resemblance to the creation of Eve by the Christian God. Possibly another case of acculturation.

Then Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro and /111/ Yepára Dujuso were awake, and then Yepá Huáke asked Yúpuri Baúro "Who is this woman?" And then Yúpuri Baúro said: "This is my sister." And Yepá Huáke said: "It is all right." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuso: "You are going to respect me." And they answered: "Yes, we will respect you." And Yepá Huáke said: "Good." Then Yepá Huáke gave them orders to leave Diaojpekowf. And then they left. And as soon as they had left, there appeared to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujuso a calmo /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/ tree. Then Yepá Huáke removed his own left arm, and this arm turned into a person, and this person climbed up the calmo tree. Then Yepá Huáke removed his own little toe from his left foot. And then the little toe of the left foot turned into a gúfo. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujuso to move a little farther away from Diaojpekowf. The person who had climbed up the calmo tree, who was a man, asked

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Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujufo where they were going. And then they answered that they were going to Diaojpekodijtára to bathe themselves so as not to die. And the man who had climbed up the calmo tree and who was named Sé said to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujufo: "First eat the fruit of this tree. If you go to bathe at Diaojpekodijtára first, you will die." Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Yepára Dujufo: "These are lies that Sé is telling." Then Yepára Dujufo said: "They are not lies, let us eat!" And both ate. Yepá Huáke saw that Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujufo had already eaten some fruit from the calmo tree, and he called to Yúpuri Baúro and to Yepára Dujufo. And they went to him. Then Yepá Huáke said to them: "You do not respect me at all." Then Yepá Huáke said that Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujufo would die (16).

16. This passage of the Tukano cosmogony is very similar to the Biblical chapter in which Adam and Eve are put out of Paradise for having eaten the forbidden fruit. Acculturation.

But Yúpuri Baúro and Yepára Dujufo did not die yet. And Yepá Huáke gave the order that all the Tukano would go marching out before anyone else or other people. And then the Tukano went marching out, and they went to Diaojpekodijtára. And the Tukano arrived. And at the banks of Diaojpekodijtára the Tukano stopped. And afterwards Yepá Huáke gave orders for the /112/ first white man to leave Diaojpekowí. This white man was German /Spanish alemán/ (17).

17. It could not be made clear why the first "white man" in the Tukano cosmography was German.

* 539 /112 cont./

192 German in Tukano is called Alemán. And then Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Colombians, who are called Siópuri Uejké in Tukano, to leave Diaoipekowí. Then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Americans, who are called Pubricanos in Tukano, to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the English /Spanish ingleses/, who are called Ingleses in Tukano, to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Italians /Spanish italianos/, who are called Italianos in Tukano, to leave. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the French to leave Diaoipekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Brazilians, who are called Ereya in Tukano, to leave Diaoipekowí.

* 539 And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Spanish to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Peruvians to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Syrians to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Portuguese to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the bicudos, who are also white Brazilians, to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave another order for the Negroes, who are called Tapafumas in Tukano, to leave Diaoipekowí. In other words, all the people of the world left Diaoipekowí. And then Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Baré, who are people who speak Geral (18),

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18. Geral is the name with which is designated a language that is formed in its major part by the Tupí language.

to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for the Ananicas, who are very small people and whom the whites call pygmies, to leave Diaoipekowí. And Yepá Huáke gave the order for an old woman of the whites to leave Diaoipekowí.

Yepá Huáke gave the order for all the whites, those who were not Tukano, to march to where the Tukano were, that is, to Diaoipekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke performed a great miracle. With this miracle came all kinds of armaments, clothing, shoes,

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539 /112 cont./

hats, straps, and belts of the whites. Then Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and from this miracle came the arrows, bows, blowguns, guayucos /loincloths/, and all the clothes of the Tukano.

/113/ The Tukano had already arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And afterwards the whites arrived at Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for all, whites and Tukano, to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And there in Diaojpekodijtára appeared a few güfos, all kinds of serpents, and all kinds of fierce animals. And this was because Yepá Huáke ordered it. From then on no one else could bathe in Diaojpekodijtára out of fear of these animals. And Yepá Huáke said that the group that was strongest should bathe in Diaojpekodijtára. And Yepá Huáke said that the Tukano should bathe first, and the Tukano did not want to bathe out of fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára. Then Yepá Huáke commanded the whites to bathe in Diaojpekodijtára, and all the whites bathed without fear. And from then on the Tukano remained under the orders of the whites, since, because of the accursed fear of the wild animals that were in Diaojpekodijtára, the Tukano did not bathe and the whites won (19).

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[829] 19. Rationalization for the dominion that the police, the judge, the Comisario /commissary, commissioner/, the religious Missionary, and the rubber worker have over the Indian in the Vaupés region.

And before bathing themselves in Diaojpekodijtára, the whites were the color of the Tukano, but after bathing in Diaojpekodijtára they turned white. The Tukano saw that the whites were already bathing, and then the Tukano wet the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of the feet, and that is why all these parts of the body of the Tukano are white (20).

[826] 20. Reference to the fact that in general the palms of the hands, the face, and the soles of

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the feet are of a lighter color than the other parts of the body.

All the people, whites and Tukano, who were grouped together, began their return to Diaoipekodiitára and became separated on the march. To the right marched the Tukano with Yúpuri Baúro as their chief, and to the left were all the whites, who were led by Alemán. Among the Tukano went Yepára Dujuso, and among the whites went the old lady, who is named Númío Paraméo in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke made them enter Diaoipekowí again. And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle, and in a gourd /Spanish totuma, Crescentia/ he produced coca already ground and mixed with ash (21),

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21. The ash of the burned dried leaf is an ingredient in the elaboration of coca by the Tukano Indian.

and he also produced tobacco, and also produced a small cigar /Spanish tabaquito/ which is smoked through the nose and which is called Uejise in Tukano. And in with this /114/ coca there were güfos and serpents and spiders and all the wild beasts and animals of the world. And Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro to eat some of this coca. And Yúpuri Baúro was very afraid of this coca full of animals. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the Alemanes to eat some of this coca, and they would not eat either, from pure fear of the animals that were in that coca. And then Yepá Huáke ordered all the animals that were in the gourd with coca to eat the coca, and the animals ate it; that is why the animals never die, but instead only change skins and hides. And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you are going to die" (22).

22. Will not be immortal.

* 539 /114 cont./

And then Yepá Huáke also said to the Alemán: "Because you did not eat any of this coca, you too are going to die" (23).

23. Will not be immortal.

And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You will have riches in this world: the Yuruparises, the feathers, the arrows, blowguns, little benches /Spanish banquitos, stools, little benches/ (Kumú), stick for killing people (Ujpiópi), shields for fighting (Uetitóke), and you will use a small horn made from the bone of the right thigh of a devil that is not a spirit and that has human form," and that devil is named Boraró and the small horn is called Pujtiricá. "Your riches will remain in the malocas /houses/ of the Tukano, and all your riches are there." Which are few. Then Yepá Huáke said also to Alemán: "You will have all the riches of the world, and these riches will be: armaments, shot-guns, knives, axes, papers (notebooks). And you, Alemán, will never be able to know or remember things from pure memory, but instead will have to note them on paper (notebook) in order to remember them (24).

24. Rationalization of the use of paper and pencil by the men of occidental civilization in the Vaupés.

And this one, who is Yúpuri Baúro, will never have papers (note-books) nor need to make notes, but rather will remember from pure memory all that happens in the world. You will not be able to take away the memory that Yúpuri Baúro has, and this Yúpuri Baúro is the head (25)

25. The Tukano Indian does not need paper and pencil to remember things.

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of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

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In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "For you there remain the Payés (Yaf and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

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Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "Walk with me." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "Sit here with me at my right." And Yepá Huáke also said to Yepára Dujufos: "Come, sit here at my right, beside your brother" (28).

28. Yúpuri Baúro.

Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Sit here at my left side." And Yepá Huáke said to Númlo Paraméo (29):

29. The old "white" woman.

"Come, sit at my left side, beside your brother" (30).

30. Alemán.

(821) And Yepá Huáke then created the wind, because before there had never been wind, and this was a miracle. And this wind caught up the little bench where Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujufo, Alemán, and Númlo Paraméo were sitting and carried it up to the sky. It was the wind that held the /116/ little bench so that it would not fall. And then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your country is to the east, here you have your tobacco, and this tobacco is to be smoked and in order to have a large family" (31).

31. In order to be very fertile.

Yepá Huáke also said to Yúpuri Baúros: "Your country is to the north, west, and south." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Brazilians: "You remain here in Diaoipekowsi." This is why the Brazilians still live in Diaoipekowsi, and why Diaoipekowsi is in Brazil. Then Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujufo, Alemán, and Númlo Paraméo came down from the sky to Diaoipekowsi on the little bench. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "You stay here so

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*539 823 that you can go to your land, to the east." And Yepá Huáke performed a miracle so that the land would appear, because before this there had not been any land either. And on this land Yepá Huáke made the trees. And afterwards Yepá Huáke performed another miracle, and that land went down under this world. And that is why under this land there is a river that is called Uamedia. And Yepá Huáke performed another miracle so that the land on which we live would appear. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemáns: "Have your city underneath the land, on the second land, like a kind of tunnel, just as there are cafés in Bogotá and stores in Bogotá."

Then Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí to smoke tobacco, and when he had smoked the tobacco, he blew. And Yepá Huáke smoked tobacco, blew to the north, to the south, to the east, and to the west, and the land appeared for all the world. And upon this land appeared all of nature. Then Yepá Huáke made the seas, and he surrounded the land of all the world with these seas. Then Yepá Huáke made another sea that formed the Vaupés, Negro, and Amazon rivers. Yepá Huáke left Diaojpekowí.

+539 A large boat appeared in Diaojpekowí, and this boat was a gũso. And first Yúpuri Baúro went aboard this boat, and second Slópuri Uejké went aboard, and the Alemán was located to the east. And there they separated. Slópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro arrived at Diatabuítíwí, a maloca of white straw. They went in and went out again, looking at the lands. They boarded the boat of the gũso again and continued going up the rivers. They arrived at DiamaJamirawí. Slópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baúro went up to the sky again. Yúpuri Baúro found a special stick that sounds like a bell, /117/ and the Tucano still have sticks like that. And that stick was for measuring time, to see where the country of Ereya was. They came down from the sky to DiamaJamirawí again. They went aboard the boat of the gũso again and continued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diatumurawí. They arrived there and landed and entered and were there a short while only looking at the maloca. They left Diatumurawí and

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returned to board the boat of the gũso again and continued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diayebarawĩ, and Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baũro entered there with their little benches, their tobacco, and their coca. Afterwards there was chicha in Diayebarawĩ and there was also the small cigars /Spanish tabaquito/ to smoke through the nose. And Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baũro went up to the sky again in their little benches and found a stick that served as a bell and began to take measurements again, and this time the boundaries of Ereya were correct. Then as far as Diayebarawĩ remained for Ereya. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baũro boarded the boat of the gũso again and continued going up the rivers and arrived at Diabarowĩ. Diabarowĩ means where Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Baũro encountered a Yuruparĩ, and that Yuruparĩ is named Baró. And Yúpuri Baũro picked up that Baró, and Siópuri Uejké picked up a horn. And then they entered Diabarowĩ. There Yúpuri Baũro gave orders to Siópuri Uejké for Siópuri Uejké to stay in Diabarowĩ.

Yúpuri Baũro said to Siópuri Uejké: "You are my brother and that is why I leave you in charge of this maloca." And the Spanish and the Colombians stayed there. Yúpuri Baũro gave orders to Siópuri Uejké and the Spanish to go to the Amazon River, and in those times the Amazon River was in the country of the Spanish and the Colombians. Yúpuri Baũro alone left Diabarowĩ again and boarded the boat of the gũso and continued going up the Amazon River. The Colombians and the Spanish stayed at the mouth of the Amazon River in the Atlantic Ocean, because that is where Diabarowĩ is. And Yúpuri Baũro continued going upriver and crossed the Río Negro and arrived at Yejkejoriwĩ, which is a maloca. And he entered and picked up a little bench. And the little bench was painted with all kinds of colors. And Yúpuri Baũro left Yejkejoriwĩ, taking the little bench. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and arrived at Diasarirawĩ, which in Tukano means maloca with a special piece of furniture. And Yúpuri Baũro left Diasarirawĩ and he took the special piece of furniture. Yúpuri Baũro boarded the boat of the gũso again and

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continued going upriver and arrived at Diaojatrorawf, and there he picked up Oajatro. /118/ which in Tukano means a special gourd, and he left Diaojatrorawf and boarded the boat of the gũfo again. And he continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diautikesererowf, and from there he took Utikeserero, which is like a small fork for smoking big cigars and is painted in all the colors. Yúpuri Baúro left Diautikesererowf and he climbed on the boat of the gũfo again and continued going upriver, and he arrived at Diamajarawf, and he entered that maloca. And there he picked up Yuruparf. And he left there again and embarked anew and continued going up the river and he arrived at Diaurawf. And in Diaurawf he picked up U, which is a special turtle for Yúpuri Baúro. And he left Diaurawf and he boarded the boat of the gũfo again, and that boat of the gũfo is called Pameriyekése in Tukano. And he continued going up the river and he arrived at Diabajsirawf. And from that maloca he took a woven ribbon painted in all colors, and that ribbon was for tying the knees, and the Tukano still tie their knees. And Yúpuri Baúro left Diabajsirawf and boarded the boat of the gũfo and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diapirorawf and entered, looked around, and left immediately and boarded the boat of the gũfo and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadejkepawf and entered this maloca and picked up a piece of bitter yuca seed and he left Diadejkepawf again. And he got into the boat of the gũfo and he continued going up the river. And he arrived at Dianipríma, and this is a river, and he entered directly, heading toward where his country was. He arrived at Diadajserawf and entered and said: "Up to here is my country." He left Diadajserawf again and boarded the boat of the gũfo again and returned to the mouths of Dianipríma. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and entered another river that is called Diakababurf. And on this river he entered directly a maloca that is called Diakababurawf. And there he left a fierce person, and that is why up to now no one can enter that stream, because the Tukano who live there are very fierce. The Brazilians

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continued going upriver and arrived at Diaojatrorawf, and there he picked up Oajatro, /118/ which in Tukano means a special gourd, and he left Diaojatrorawf and boarded the boat of the gũfo again. And he continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diautikesererowf, and from there he took Utikeserero, which is like a small fork for smoking big cigars and is painted in all the colors. Yúpuri Baúro left Diautikesererowf and he climbed on the boat of the gũfo again and continued going upriver, and he arrived at Diama jarawf, and he entered that maloca. And there he picked up Yuruparf. And he left there again and embarked anew and continued going up the river and he arrived at Diaurawf. And in Diaurawf he picked up U, which is a special turtle for Yúpuri Baúro. And he left Diaurawf and he boarded the boat of the gũfo again, and that boat of the gũfo is called Pameriyekése in Tukano. And he continued going up the river and he arrived at Diabajsirawf. And from that maloca he took a woven ribbon painted in all colors, and that ribbon was for tying the knees, and the Tukano still tie their knees. And Yúpuri Baúro left Diabajsirawf and boarded the boat of the gũfo and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diapirorawf and entered, looked around, and left immediately and boarded the boat of the gũfo and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadejkepawf and entered this maloca and picked up a piece of bitter yuca seed and he left Diadejkepawf again. And he got into the boat of the gũfo and he continued going up the river. And he arrived at Dianipríma, and this is a river, and he entered directly, heading toward where his country was. He arrived at Diadajserawf and entered and said: "Up to here is my country." He left Diadajserawf again and boarded the boat of the gũfo again and returned to the mouths of Dianipríma. He crossed to the other side of the Río Negro and entered another river that is called Diakababurf. And on this river he entered directly a maloca that is called Diakababurawf. And there he left a fierce person, and that is why up to now no one can enter that stream, because the Tukano who live there are very fierce. The Brazilians

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call that stream Cababurí. Yúpuri Baúro left Diakababurawí again and boarded the boat of the gũfo again and continued going upriver. And they arrived at Diaetadekawí and took a medallion of precious stone, in the form of a tube, which is still used suspended at the neck. He left Diaetadekawí, boarded the vessel of the gũfo, and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diadajisrawí. And they entered and took necklaces, which are called Diajsatu in Tucano. And these fine necklaces can not be made any longer, and Yepá Huáke left them for Yúpuri Baúro, Yúpuri Pamó, Yúpuri Duetra, and Urémirí Sáraro. And these fine necklaces were not used every day, but rather for official feasts. The rest of the time /119/ these fine necklaces were guarded. Yúpuri Baúro left Diadajisrawí and boarded the vessel of the gũfo and stayed on the boat of the gũfo. And there he stayed, watching over where Yepá Huáke was, the one who had us created, and Yepá Huáke was not there. And Yúpuri Baúro with all his people left the boat of the gũfo, and he again watched if he could see Yepá Huáke on land, out of the boat of the gũfo. And Yepá Huáke was not there either. And Duétiro, brother of Yúpuri Baúro, said: "Yepá Huáke has already gone up to the sky." Then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro said: "That is not good for us. It is going to rain very much, very much, because the Sé is going to make it rain and he is going to eat all of us" (32).

32. A deluge.

And the Sé had already dammed the river from there up so that it began to rise, and then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro and all the people boarded the vessel of the gũfo. And Yúpuri Baúro made the gũfo coil itself, and after the gũfo coiled itself, the gũfo went up to the sky with Yúpuri Baúro, Duétiro, and all the people. And they were in the sky for 60 days, and after 60 days the river began to go down again. And Yepá Huáke had already killed Sé. After Sé died, the river began to go down more quickly. After 30 days (33),

33. One month.

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the river was already as it had been before the river rose. And Yúpuri Baúro with Duétiro and all their people came down from the sky and arrived again at Diadajsráwí. And Yepá Huáke had gone up again to the sky, after having come down to kill Sé. And then Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro, after having come down from the sky, said: "If Yepá Huáke is not on this land, the same that happened before will happen again, in other words, the river will swell again." Then Duétiro said to Yúpuri Baúro that Yúpuri Baúro did not know how to manage the personnel well and that Duétiro would be the chief. Then Yúpuri Baúro said to Duétiro that Yúpuri Baúro is going to see how Duétiro is going to manage the personnel. And Yúpuri Baúro let Duétiro manage the personnel. Yúpuri Baúro said: "It is all right." And afterwards Yúpuri Baúro said: "You are to continue going upriver as I was doing before to find our country." And then Duétiro and Yúpuri Baúro fought, Yúpuri Baúro saying that Yepá Huáke had not given Duétiro the assignment to seek their country, because he was not the elder. That now he would give Duétiro the assignment to seek their country, but that in time the assignment to seek their country would come back to Yúpuri Baúro. Duétiro said: "It is all right; to /120/ continue going upriver more easily, it is better that we first go up to the sky." And now Duétiro gave the orders. Then Yúpuri Baúro laughed in the face of Duétiro Eetamajsé (34).

34. Duétiro Eetamajsé is the same person as Duétiro.

because the order given by Duétiro to go up to the sky was of no use. Then Yúpuri Baúro asked Duétiro: "How are we going to go up to the sky?" Duétiro answered: "We are going to make a tower of bricks, and when the tower is finished, we are all going to go up to the sky, and while we are building the tower, we will be going up." And then they began to work and to build the tower. They began to work at six in the morning and by noon the tower was already taller than the tallest tree in the forest. After noon

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they began to work again, and they worked very strenuously for one hour. They were about to begin another hour of work and from then on they could not work any longer because the words were changed. All the people who had worked before were only Tukano, and then the words became confused and they began to speak Siriano, Cubeo, Maniva, Mirafña, Yucuna, Bicula, Tatuyo, Carapaná, Barasano, Tuyuca, Desano, Matapí, Uanano, Tariano, Piratapuyo, Macú, Guayabero, Carijona, Putumayo Indian, Baré, Petara, Detuana, and Yurutí (35).

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35. Passage that has a great similarity to the episode of the Tower of Babel. Possible Christian influence.

A book of Yepá Huáke fell on top of the tower and Duétiro received this paper, and he was not able to read it. Then Duétiro smoked a cigar, ate coca, and with pure memory called Slópurí Uejké to read the book. And Slópurí Uejké read for himself what the book said, and then he said: "This is not good for all the world, nor for the Colombians, nor for the Tukano." Slópurí Uejké asked: "Who is the chief of all your tribe?" Then Yúpurí Bauro said: "This is the chief of all the tribe," pointing to Duétiro. Slópurí Uejké said: "There is a maloca missing from our life, and there Yepá Huáke is going to appear again. We are going to enter that maloca. If we do not enter that maloca, we will die forever." And Slópurí Uejké returned to his land again. Then Yúpurí Bauro was again left as chief of the Tukano. They boarded the boat of the gũso again and continued going upriver and looking with binoculars, which are called Miriapuraecoro in Tukano, and they were able to see as far as Diamukakuwí. And Diamukakuwí was farther away than Diadasukawí. And he arrived at Diadasukawí and he entered that maloca and took a necklace. In /121/ Tukano, necklace is called Dajsúke. And he left Diadasukawí again and boarded the boat of the gũso and continued going upriver. And he arrived at Diamukakuwí and he entered

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Diamukakuwí and here was the boundary with the Colombians (36).

36. According to the Tukano, Diamukakuwí is in San Gabriel, Brazil.

Yúpurí Baúro left Diamukakuwí and returned above and arrived at Diayukaviwí. Here he only came near the port and did not enter the maloca. This was already his land, and he continued upriver. And he arrived at Diasamíguerawí; here he only came near the port and continued immediately. He entered the Río Negro, going up it, and arrived at Diamarirawí. He only barely went near the port and continued upriver. And he arrived at Djakukurawí. He only went near the port and did not enter. And he continued upriver and arrived at Diajkorawí (37)

37. According to the Tukano, Diajkorawí is in San Felipe.

and here too he only went near the port and continued up the river. He continued going up the river and he arrived at Diañejkarawí. Here, too, he only went near the port and did not enter the maloca and continued going up the river. And he arrived at Diakajseropueawí, which in Tukano means: maloca of Yuruparí. And there Yúpurí Baúro did go in, and there he took all kinds of Yuruparises. The country of Yúpurí Baúro ends here. From here on up it is the country of the Maníva.

From Diakajseropueawí, Yúpurí Baúro returned by the same river by which he had come up and arrived at the mouth of the river Diaoipekoma and entered the Vaupés River. And he went up the Vaupés River and arrived at Diawí. In Tukano, Diawí means river of the paint; Diawí is near the outlet of the Vaupés River into the Río Negro. And Yúpurí Baúro entered the maloca of Diawí. And in Diawí, Yepá Huáke appeared again with Bejpó, thunder, who is also a person. Two women who had come with Yúpurí Baúro also entered Diawí. The women were named Yepá

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Bejkeó and Dujuikó. And the entire group of Yúpuri Baúro entered Diawí. And Diawí was full of people. And Yepá Huáke went out of Diawí up to a hill which is called Huapísi. And Yepá Huáke stood on only one foot, weaving Miriapurasutiro. And Yepá Huáke told Yúpuri Baúro to go out of Diawí as far as the port of Diawí with all the people. Yepá Huáke said: "Here there is going to be fire of the devils" (38).

38. Of the Yuruparises.

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And as he said this, he stamped on the ground. And there was fire for the first time. Yepá Huáke said: "Fire for the cigars." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Urémiri Sáraro to put on the Miriapurasutiro. /122/ The companion of Urémiri Sáraro, who was named Yúpuri Súbera, also put on the Miriapurasutiro. And Yúpuri Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajé led all the Tukano to enter Diawí again.

Yúpuri Baúro picked up a small stick, like a bayonet, which is called Miriapurauajso in Tukano. And Yúpuri Baúro picked up another stick that has a small bell and is called Yaig in Tukano. Duétiro Eetamajé picked up the piece of furniture of life /Spanish *el mueble de la vida*/, which is called Uajatró in Tukano. Then Duétiro Eetamajé picked up a cigar with a small fork. And Yepá Huáke with Bejpó entered Diawí to wait for all the people who were going to enter Diawí. And the boat of the gúso stayed in the port of Diawí. And Yepá Huáke and Bejpó stood inside Diawí, Yepá Huáke at the right side and Bejpó at the left side. Yepá Huáke said that all the people were to arm themselves with Yuruparises and armaments and were to enter Diawí. And Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around the maloca Diawí. They went marching around Diawí, and Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to enter Diawí again. They all went in. Yepá Huáke gave orders for them to go marching around four times inside the maloca Diawí. And after they had done this, Yepá Huáke gave orders for everyone to sit down. And Yepá Huáke

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said: "Silence! Attention! I am going to give this order. Now I am going to give you the night, in order for you to sleep." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to two brothers of Yúpuri Bauro, who were named Serítia and Patáro, for them to go toward the cordillera in the direction of Bogotá and they told Sotá, who was the owner of the Central Cordillera, that Yepá Huáke had given orders for him to give them the "thing of night," because Sotá was the owner of the night and he was the one who made it dark.

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Sotá said: "Good, I am going to give you a little box where sleep and night are. Take it. Do not open this little box until you give it to Yepá Huáke, and he will distribute sleep and night to each group of all the people. As soon as sleep and night are distributed among all the people, Yepá Huáke will explain to you that the little seeds of sleep and of night must be put on the heart in order to be able to sleep. Do not put these little seeds there on the eyes. And that is all. Take the box between the two of you." Then they said. "Good." And as the box weighed a lot, the two men became tired of carrying the box on the road back to Diawí. They were already getting close to Diawí, and then /123/ the two men said: "What is this box that weighs so much?" And the two men opened the little box. And as soon as they opened the little box, everything became dark and for two hours night rained down. Serítia called an insect that sings at night and that is called Ñamiribejké in Tukano. And Patáro called the same insect, and it was already midnight. Serítia called the same insect again, and Patáro called to the same insect. And for Patáro this second time the insect did answer him. Serítia called the insect again, and for Serítia four insects answered him at the same time. Patáro called the insect again, and for him ten insects answered him at the same time. Patáro said to Serítia: "No more, keep calling quickly." And they opened the little box where sleep and night were. Then all the little insects that are called Ñamiribejké entered the little box. Serítia divided the insects in half; one half for this world and the

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539 other half stayed in the little box. The day appeared, and since
821 then there is day and there is night. As soon as day and night
513 had appeared, Serítia and Patáro took the box to Diawí. They
entered Diawí and delivered the little box to Yepá Huáke, and
he received it. And then Yepá Huáke was waiting for them with
all kinds of chicha. Then Yepá Huáke said for the night to come.

* And they opened the little box that contained sleep and night.

539 And Yepá Huáke distributed sleep and night among all the tribes
that were in Diawí. And Yepá Huáke said that two people should
go and cross to the other side of the Vaupés River, which is called
Diapajá in Tukano. These two persons were named Cajtá
Casóro and Cajtá. Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on
Cajtá a little hat of feathers, which is called Pejsaró in Tukano,
and some gold earrings, which are called Ajpoápi in Tukano.
Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá and on Cajtá Casóro a little
bracelet of feathers, which is called Bajsákaroa in Tukano. After-
wards he put that special stone, which is called Ujtáboja in Tukano,
around the necks of Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Then Yepá Huáke
put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a wide and special belt, which is
called Yalpirítatia in Tukano, and this belt is made of the teeth of
wild animals, such as jaguars and cerrillos /this word is not
italicized in the Spanish text/. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá
Casóro and Cajtá a loincloth, which is called Uajsóro in Tukano.
Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a fine herb on
the side of the buttocks, and that fine herb is called Bará in Tukano.
Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a woven ribbon,
which is called Yujtásero in Tukano, around their knees. Then
Yepá /124/ Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá some bands for
their ankles, which are called Kejtíó in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke
gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá that little bell stick that is called
Yalg in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá:
"Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúro and to all
his people: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro
and Cajtá: "You have to wake up at midnight. As soon as you
wake up, have Yúpurí Baúro and all his people awakened." Then

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Yepá Huáke said: "After awakening, Yúpurí Baúro has to go to the port of Diawí with all his people to bathe, and when they have bathed and have come from the river to the port again, Yúpurí Baúro has to take a gourd of water and drink the water and then vomit it." Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "While Yúpurí Baúro is vomiting, you smoke cigars and knock on the door of Diawí with a stick. After you knock on the door of Diawí, you will peel off your own skin from the head down to the shoulders. Then Cajtá will knock on the door of Diawí and Cajtá will continue peeling his skin down to the waist. Then Cajtá Casóro will begin to peel himself as far as the knees. And after this, Cajtá will peel himself completely." Then Yepá Huáke said: "After Cajtá peels his whole body, Yúpurí Baúro and all his people will enter Diawí. And inside Diawí I will sit in the middle of the maloca, and there where I sit, I am going to leave a gourd of coca. And you come in and eat all the coca that is in the gourd. This order is the last one that I will give you." Yepá Huáke clapped his hands and said: "Go to sleep." All were unconscious as if dead, and Yepá Huáke was watching and counting. Then midnight came, and that was the hour that Yepá Huáke had set for Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. The hour set passed and Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá continued to sleep. And then Yepá Huáke awakened only Yúpurí Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúro: "See here, it seems to me that I am not respected here. Arm yourself and go to the port. When you arrive at the port, jump into the river to bathe." Then Yúpurí Baúro left for the port with all his people, but without Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá, because these last two were still asleep. And Yúpurí Baúro and all his people left their armaments at the bank of the river and jumped in to bathe. They came out of the water, picked up a gourd, drank the water from the gourd, and vomited. And it was already time for the rooster to crow. /125/ Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúro: "Arm yourselves again and enter Diawí again." And then they picked up the armaments and made them resound, and with this movement Cajtá woke up. Cajtá said: "Ayl!" And Cajtá said to Cajtá Casóro: "You wake up too."

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And Cajtá Casóro did not wake up. Cajtá Casóro was the superior of Cajtá, but seeing that Cajtá Casóro did not wake up, Cajtá picked up a stick and started to knock on the door of Diawf and peeled his skin from his head to his shoulders. Then Cajtá Casóro did wake up and knocked on the door of Diawf, but he did not peel himself. Then Cajtá knocked on the door of Diawf again and did not go back to peeling himself either. Then Yepá Huáke made a bad face toward Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. And the day dawned already. And Yepá Huáke came close to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá and said to them in a sarcastic tone: "It is all right, you do respect me." And Yepá Huáke appeared at the door of Diawf and there was Yúpuri Baúro with all his tribe, and Yúpuri Baúro was peeled as far as the shoulders. And Yepá Huáke took pity on Yúpuri Baúro and said: "Close that peeling!" And the peeling closed. Yepá Huáke told Yúpuri Baúro and all his people to enter Diawf, and they all entered. And Yepá Huáke put a gourd of coca at his feet. And at the edge of this gourd of coca there were all kinds of tame and fierce animals. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Eat!" And Yúpuri Baúro was not able to eat out of fear of the plague. Yepá Huáke remained looking at them a while and saw that none was able to eat the gourd of coca. And then he took away the gourd of coca and cursed everyone. And Yepá Huáke said: "Now you are all going to die. Your children will die too. You will die for all eternity (39).

39. Will not be immortal.

The lands and the stones and all the animals are not going to die." Then Yepá Huáke sounded the land, and the land thundered, answering Yepá Huáke that the land will not die, but that it will live forever. Said the land: "We will not die, we will eat the people that you created." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "We are going to have a feast and we are going to drink chicha and we are going to sing and we are going to dance."

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And then Yúpuri Baúro and all his people learned for the first time that in order to have children the woman first has to be pregnant. There were only a pair of women among all of them. One was named Nijf Majsó and the other was named Meropagnijf Majsó. And the /126/ two of them went out by the back door of Diawf and went to bathe at the port. Bejpó saw then that the women had gone to bathe at the port, and Bejpó took out two small coins, one called Pajsf and the other Erofiá. And Bejpó took out these two coins to dry in the sun. And the two women again came to Diawf. And when they were returning to Diawf, they caught sight of the coins and they kept looking at them. And the two women said: "What would these two little things be?" And the two women fell in love with these two little things. And these two little things seemed like babies and cried. But only one of the women saw the two coins as babies, while the other woman was only able to see two little coins. And this is where roving about came from, and because of this, of every two women, one will come out sedate and the other will come out a prostitute. Meropagnijf Majsó, who was the younger sister, saw the two little things as babies, while Nijf Majsó, who was the older sister, saw the two little things as little coins. Then Meropagnijf Majsó said to Nijf Majsó: "Do not pick them up." Then Nijf Majsó said: "I am picking them up." And Nijf Majsó picked them up, smelled them, and the two little things smelled like coins. And as soon as she smelled them, Nijf Majsó ate them. And it did not take even a minute for her to become pregnant. Then Meropagnijf Majsó said: "Don't you see? I told you not to pick them up." And Meropagnijf Majsó saw that Nijf Majsó was pregnant. And the stomach of Nijf Majsó was swelling up. But these two women had the appearance of men and did not have breasts or opening. Then Meropagnijf Majsó said: "What shall we do?" Then both called to Yepá Huáke. And Yepá Huáke came to where they were. Then they said to Yepá Huáke: "Now what are we going to do?" Then Yepá Huáke said: "It is all right. Now the child must be born. You are going to have husbands. You will die" (40).

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Then Nijf Majsó went into the brush in order to give birth and Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijf Majsó a fork for using a cigar, but without a cigar, and a small knife. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijf Majsó: "Take this fork and put it on top of a thin stick and have Nijf Majsó lie on her side on top of this stick. And you lie down on your back on top of the stick." Then Yepá Huáke gave Meropagnijf Majsó a small piece of furniture and a small balaya (41).

41. A basket.

which is called Síoa in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said: "When you are lying down well on your back, start to measure with /127/ the width of the fork between the legs of Nijf Majsó, and as soon as you put this little fork between her legs, Kúmu will blow for Nijf Majsó. And cut the skin of Nijf Majsó the whole width of the little fork and the child will be born." And Yepá Huáke said. "And that cut that you made on Nijf Majsó, in the way that Nijf Majsó has it, all women will also have. All women will have children until the end of the world. And the men will not be able to see that cut." Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijf Majsó: "As soon as that child is born, put it on top of the balaya and Nijf Majsó will remain unconscious. And Nijf Majsó will suffer so that the child may be taken, and this is why the child will respect his mama. And if the child did not respect his mama, who is Nijf Majsó, then send him away to go to another place." And from there came the respect for one's mother. Then Yepá Huáke said to Meropagnijf Majsó: "Bring that child to Diawf and leave him in the middle of Diawf on top of the balaya, and then I shall come to cut the umbilical cord of the child. I shall remove that umbilical cord, and then I shall bury that umbilical cord in the ground of Diawf, and there is the boundary of the land of you, the Tukano." As soon as Meropagnijf Majsó brought the child to Diawf and Yepá Huáke cut and buried the umbilical cord, Yepá Huáke made the boat of the gúfo enter Diawf. And after the boat of the gúfo had entered Diawf, Yepá Huáke called the brother of Yúpuri Baúro, who is named Siópuri Uejké (42).

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42. Colombian.

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Siópuri Ueiké is also named Cateaffo (43).

43. Possibly a modification of the word
castellano /Castilian, Spanish/.

Siópuri Ueiké came and entered, and Yepá Huáke gave orders for him to sit down at the entrance of Diawí with all the tribe of Siópuri Ueiké. And the little child was like the drink of Cajpí, because as soon as the little child cried, all those who were in Diawí became drunk and saw all kinds of colors, because when one drinks Cajpí, one becomes drunk and sees all kinds of different colors. And Siópuri Ueiké took a photograph of Yúpuri Baúro, which is why the Colombians now also take pictures of the Tucano. And when Yepá Huáke saw that Siópuri Ueiké had taken a photograph of Yúpuri Baúro and all his people, then Yepá Huáke said only to Yúpuri Baúro: "That is your brother," Yepá Huáke pointing to Siópuri Ueiké, "and that hawk will be for you, Yúpuri Baúro. For your brother Siópuri Ueiké I am also going to give a hawk, and that hawk will not be like yours, but instead Siópuri Ueiké will paint it as a coat of arms." This is why /128/ we, the Tucano, had before a great eagle that we took very good care of, and that eagle is called Aapajké in Tucano. And you, the Colombians, instead of having a live hawk, use a coat of arms. Then Yepá Huáke said: "And that little child, distribute it to each tribe, piece by piece." And this means that all the native tribes of this world will have Cajpí. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Everyone look at me." And the vessel of the gũfo was inside the maloca of Diawí, and it became gũfo, completely gũfo. And then Yepá Huáke gave the gũfo a stab in the head with the stick that has the little bell (44).

44. Yalg.

And that stab pierced the whole land as far as Diáuamundía. In Diáuamundía there were fine stones, like refined metals /Spanish cementadas/. And Yepá Huáke picked up the piece of stick that

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(192) was left above the surface of the land, and drawing it a little toward one side, it remained fixed in the sky. The sky is called Emese in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke did the same with another little bell-stick in the tail of the gũso, and the little stick remained fixed between Diauamundia and the sky. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúro: "All the tribes of Tukano come and jump on top of the gũso, between the two sticks of Yalg." And that is where the Tukano learned the discipline of war. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúro and to all his people: "Start to march four times on top of the gũso; march two times looking at the sky and march two times looking at the surface of the land." And all marched on top of the gũso. And Yepá Huáke said: "Turn around and jump off the back of the gũso!" And they jumped. And then the gũso shook himself and there was like a flash of lightning and that was to kill the people who were on top of the gũso. And Yepá Huáke gave the order to Yúpurí Baúro and to all his people to climb on top of the gũso again and to march four more times on top of the gũso, two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the surface of the land. And Yúpurí Baúro and all his people did as Yepá Huáke ordered, and afterwards they turned around and jumped off the gũso again. And Yepá Huáke gave them orders to do the same thing again. And Yepá Huáke gave orders to Yúpurí Baúro and to all his people to do the same thing again. And all of them did the same thing. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke gave orders to Siópuri Ueiké for him and all his people to jump on top of the gũso. And they marched differently, for /129/ they crossed one foot and then they crossed the other. And Yepá Huáke did not order them to look at the sky, but instead he told them to look only at the land. Siópuri Ueiké and his people marched four times on top of the gũso, and the four times that they marched they looked at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũso to the land. And the gũso trembled and sent a flash of lightning to kill them. And Yepá Huáke ordered Siópuri Ueiké and all his people to jump on the gũso again, and they did it, and this time

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Yepá Huáke did make them look at the sky. They marched two times looking at the sky and two times looking at the land. And Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũso. And the gũso trembled and there was another flash of lightning. And Yepá Huáke ordered Slópuri Uejké and all of his people to go up and march on the gũso again. And this time Yepá Huáke ordered them to march four times on the gũso looking toward the river, and then Yepá Huáke ordered them to jump off the gũso again. And the gũso trembled and there was a clap of thunder again. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more for you." Then Yepá Huáke ordered Slópuri Uejké with all his people and Yúpuri Baúro with all his people to sit down on the floor of Diawf.

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All the animals were inside of Diawf. And today the animals that do not have tails are like people. But in Diawf all the animals had tails, and the animals became changed like mad ones and began to eat their own tails, and that is why some of them do not have tails. And Yepá Huáke began to watch the animals. Then Yepá Huáke said: "It does not seem right to me. I created you so that you would be like people. Now stay like animals so that the people can eat you." When Yepá Huáke said this, all the animals were frightened and stopped eating their tails; this is why some animals still have tails. Then Yepá Huáke said: "There we are." And when Yepá Huáke had said this, Yepá Huáke grasped both bell sticks that were piercing the tail and the head of the gũso and he pulled them out at the same time. And then Yepá Huáke ordered the gũso to go out of Diawf as far as the port of Diawf. And the boat of the gũso stayed there. And then Yepá Huáke ordered Yúpuri Baúro with all his people and Slópuri Uejké with all his people to dance and to drink chicha and to eat coca and to sing. And all stayed up until dawn. And then Yepá Huáke made an investigation, and he knew that, when all /130/ the people were having their feast, the animals who were talking against the people said that they were going to eat the people. The first one that spoke was Wejké (45).

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and she said that she was going to eat the people. And as soon as Wejké had spoken, Aña (46)

46. The snake.

answered, who said that she would also eat the people. When Aña spoke like this, Boraró answered that he too would eat people. Boraró has the appearance of a person, walks on two feet, and with only one shout makes people unconscious. When Boraró had spoken, another animal called Utanurú (47)

47. Animal that, according to the Tukano, has the appearance of a cricket and eats the excrement of human beings.

answered that he, too, would eat people. When Yepá Huáke was making his investigation, Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "What was it that you said?" Wejké answered: "I did not say anything." Yepá Huáke said: "Tell me the truth and do not lie to me." And Wejké did not answer. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "When you kill a person, how are you going to kill him?" Then Wejké took out a whistle and said: "I am going to kill with this whistle." Then Yepá Huáke said: "Blow it to see how it sounds." Then Wejké said: "Good." And Wejké blew the whistle. When Wejké blew the whistle, the land opened and nature fell to pieces. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Show me the whistle so that I may look at it." And Wejké handed the whistle to Yepá Huáke. And after taking the whistle from Wejké, Yepá Huáke said: "You are not going to eat people; on the contrary, people will eat you." This is why we now eat danta, and it is tasty. And Yepá Huáke gave this whistle to Emo (48).

48. The monkey.

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And Emo also had a little whistle, and this little whistle was not for eating people. And Yepá Huáke said to Emo: "Take this whistle of Wejké and go up on top of the trees, and there you can play with that whistle. Give me the little whistle that you had." And Emo gave him the little whistle that he had. And Yepá Huáke handed to Wejké the little whistle that had belonged to Emo. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Blow it." Then Wejké said: "All right." And Wejké blew the whistle, and the whistle sounded like the whistle of the police of Bogotá. Then Wejké started to cry. Then Yepá Huáke said to Wejké: "Go to the forest." And Yepá Huáke continued speaking, this time to the snake. And Yepá Huáke said to Aña: "What was that you said?" And Aña answered truthfully and said /131/ "I did say something. Then Yepá Huáke said: "With which fang are you going to bite?" And Aña said: "With this one," pointing to one in her mouth. And Yepá Huáke said: "All right, show it to me." And Aña showed it to him. And Yepá Huáke pulled out the fang, and that is why now Aña bites people, but her bite does not hurt. And then Yepá Huáke continued talking to Utanurú. And then Yepá Huáke said to him: "You are not going to eat people, but you are going to eat excrement." While Yepá Huáke was talking with Utanurú, the other Aña (49),

49. The poisonous snake.

whose fang had not been pulled by Yepá Huáke, went out, running with his own woman. And after Aña, the poisonous one, Borará went out, running with his own woman. Then the jaguar went out with his own woman. This is why those animals that ran out without speaking to Yepá Huáke are the wild animals that we have now. Then Yepá Huáke said: "No more." Then Yepá Huáke opened the little box that held sleep and night and distributed all the little seeds of sleep and night. Then Yepá Huáke said: "Put them here on the heart." And all the people put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart. After this, Yepá Huáke said: "There is going to

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be the first war, and Slópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Slópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Slópuri Uejké, and Slópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Slópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "When that war is over, Slópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50)

50. The Brazilians.

will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúros /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Slópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

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52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

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polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53).

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tarriano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúros "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tarriano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tarriano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

* 539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

* /132 cont./

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And the third woman will be Siriana, and again, do not kill, just fight in order to take the woman. And these six tribes will be like brothers (55)

55. Close friends.

to you." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpurí Baúros "No more." Then Yepá Huáke said to all those who were in Diawí: "Everyone stand up." And Yepá Huáke disappeared. And then Yepá Huáke was finished and he went up to the sky. It became dark, and Siópuri Uejké and all his people, and Yúpurí Baúro and all his people, put the little seeds of sleep and night on the heart, but it did not give them sleep. And Yúpurí Baúro said: "Why do we not have sleep?" Then Yúpurí Baúro picked up the little seeds that were on the heart and he put them on the eyes. And as soon as Yúpurí Baúro did this, all the seeds disappeared /133/ and everyone fell asleep. And day broke and everyone woke up. And Yúpurí Baúro said to everyone. "Let us go." And Yúpurí Baúro told Siópuri Uejké and all his people: "You also go to your land."

And Yúpurí Baúro boarded the canoe of the gũfo in the port of Diawí. And they continued upriver. He arrived at the mouths of the Tiquié River and entered and arrived at the cachibera Parí. He drew close and left the boat of the gũfo; he barely looked, but did not enter the maloca; he got into the boat of the gũfo and continued going up the Tiquié River. And he arrived at the cachibera Carurú, which is called Mo in Tucano. He left the boat of the gũfo and entered the maloca Mo. And in Mo, Yúpurí Baúro said: "Up to here is my land. From Mo on, it is the land of the Tuyuca and of the Barasanos." From Mo, Yúpurí Baúro looked with a telescope and managed to see farther than Pedreira, and there was a maloca there that was called Pajsásarowí. And seeing Pajsásarowí from Mo, Yúpurí Baúro said: "From Pajsásarowí on up is the land of the Yucuna and the Miraña /Miranya/. And from Pajsásarowí down is my land." Yúpurí Baúro boarded the boat of the gũfo again

* 539 /133 cont./

and returned to the mouths of the Tiquié. He arrived at the mouths of the Tiquié and went up the Vaupés River. He arrived at Panuré, and he stayed there to sleep. The next day he boarded the boat of the gũso and continued upriver and arrived at Naskorowí. He slept in Naskorowí. The next day he continued going up the Vaupés River and arrived at the mouths of the Yapú River. And Yúpurí Baúro said: "From the mouths of the Yapú River down on the Vaupés River is the land of the Tarianos." It could be said that Yúpurí Baúro was renting all of these lands to the Mirafía, Tarianos, Yucunas, Yurutíes, Desanos, etc. But these lands were always from Yúpurí Baúro and belonged to the Tukano. And Yúpurí Baúro continued going upriver and arrived at Yavaraté, and he stayed there to sleep. Then Yúpurí Baúro said: "I will be here." The next day Yúpurí Baúro said to his people: "Come, let us investigate our lands." He boarded the boat of the gũso and continued going up the Vaupés until he arrived at the cachibera of Carurú, which is called Mo in Tukano, on the Vaupés River. He arrived at the port and only looked and continued upstream. And he arrived at Baracapurí, and he stayed there to sleep. Baracapurí is also a cachibera.

The boat of the gũso that had come from Diaojpekowí stayed in Baracapurí, and Yúpurí Baúro ordered another boat of the gũso brought from the cachiberas of Yuruparí. With the new boat of the /134/ gũso, Yúpurí Baúro continued going upriver from Baracapurí and arrived at the Cudularí River. There Yúpurí Baúro ordered the Sirianos to enter; and he rented this land to the Sirianos. And Yúpurí Baúro continued going upriver and he arrived at Tierra Grata, and there he ordered the Cubeos to enter, and he rented these lands to them. A little below Tierra Grata and in front of it there is another little stream that is called Pacú, and here Yúpurí Baúro ordered the Baqueffara to enter, and he rented these lands to them. And Yúpurí Baúro continued going up the Vaupés River and he arrived at the mouths of the Tí River, and he rented these lands to the Carapaná. And he continued going upriver as far as the cachiberas of Yuruparí. He neared the port

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and entered the maloca of Sorapoawf. And from there he looked with a telescope to the maloca of Namiriwf. And Yúpurí Baúro said: "The land of the Carljona will be from Sorapoawf to Namiriwf, and this time Yúpurí Baúro gave them the land; he did not rent it, as to the previous ones. And Yúpurí Baúro gave this land to the Carljona, to the Guayabero, the Putumayo Indians, and to the Sotá, who were Indians who lived in Bogotá before Slópurí Uejké arrived. And Yúpurí Baúro said: "And this country is for your own. My country extends up to here. If you come down from Sorapoawf there will be war between us. Each month I will send a commission to investigate." Then Yúpurí Baúro said to the Carljona, to the Sotá, to the Guayabero, to the Cubeo, to the Bajúke, and to the Céreru: "You will be my enemies." Then Yúpurí Baúro said: "My close friends will be the Tuyuca, Maníva, Mirafía, Yurutí, Carapaná, Piratapuyo, Uanano, Taríano, Siríano, Desano, Yucuna, Macuna, and Barasano." And Yúpurí Baúro returned, going down the Vaupés River and he arrived at the mouths of the Abiyú River. And there Yúpurí Baúro rented the lands again to the Siríano. And Yúpurí Baúro continued going down the Vaupés River, returning to Yavaraté. He arrived at Yavaraté and he slept there. And the next day he entered the Papurí River and arrived at the big cachíberas of Baracapá. And there he slept. And the next day he continued upriver and arrived at Santa Lucía. And he neared the port and he got off and he went walking and he began to construct a maloca. After building this maloca, Yúpurí Baúro gave orders to each tribe (Siríano, Desano, etc.) for them to take care of the lands of Yúpurí Baúro. And Yúpurí Baúro stayed to live in Santa Lucía.

And Yúpurí Baúro said: "If a group of our enemies harasses you, tell me, and I will order a commission to go and see." And Yúpurí Baúro built the maloca of Santa Lucía in only one day. On the next day he ordered chicha made, and on the next day after having ordered /135/ chicha made, they sang and danced and danced until dawn. And Yúpurí Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé died

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at noon. After both chiefs had died, the Tukano buried them in two coffins of stone, and Yúpurí Baúro and Duétiro Eetamajsé turned into earth. On the next day, the son of Yúpurí Baúro, who was also named Yúpurí Baúro (56),

56. We shall refer to him as Yúpurí Baúro II.

ordered chicha made. Duétiro Eetamajsé did not have a son. And they sang and danced. When they were going to begin to dance, they were going to put feathers on Yúpurí Baúro II, and he said: "Do not tie me hard." And this was because the head of Yúpurí Baúro II was very fine and delicate. But the people tied the feathers very firmly on his head and Yúpurí Baúro II died. And they buried him in the same maloca of Santa Lucía, but not in a stone coffin. After burying Yúpurí Baúro II, the brother of Yúpurí Baúro II, who was also named Yúpurí Baúro, had other chicha made. And the next day they sang and danced again. And then in that dance all who had left Diaojpekowí died. Yúpurí Baúro III, upon seeing that all who had come from Diaojpekowí had died, went down to Yavaraté again. And there they made the maloca of Wííperowí, which was like the malocas that the Tukano have now. And in that maloca of Yavaraté they did nothing but dance and sing and drink chicha and eat coca and smoke tobacco. And Yúpurí Baúro III held two great feasts. And after having held two great feasts, a message came that the Cubeos had killed the Sirianos at the headwaters of the Cudularí River. And the Cubeos were coming, invading all the territory of the Tukano. And Yúpurí Baúro III said: "I am going to send a commission of four battalions." And when these battalions were going to leave, Yúpurí Baúro III asked Urémirí Sáraro II: "What are we going to do now?" Then Urémirí Sáraro II answered: "We are going to make war, and I am going to take charge of this war. I am going to send four battalions to Pajsásaro. I am going to send another four battalions to Tunuwí." And Urémirí Sáraro II ordered the

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battallions to investigate all the country of the Tukano and to meet at the cachibera of Yuruparí. And from there Urémiri Sáraro II would leave Yavaraté and go upriver with ten battallions to fight fiercely. Then Urémiri Sáraro II ordered all the enemies and all the animals to be killed. Then Urémiri Sáraro II said: "You can wipe out the Cubeo, the Bajúke, and the /136/ Céreru." And the two battallions, with four divisions in each one, which would meet in Yuruparí, and the ten battallions of Urémiri Sáraro II, which would meet the other two in Yuruparí, went down the river, killing all the enemies. And they made war on ten occasions. After having made war on ten occasions, Slópuri Uejké and Ereya began to make war. And Ereya took Slópuri Uejké from Diabarowí, which is now Manaos. Slópuri Uejké fled to Brasero. Ereya took Slópuri Uejké from there again. Slópuri Uejké fled also from here and fled to San Gabriel. And there the Colombians made a fort to hold back the Ereya. Ereya took Slópuri Uejké from there again. Slópuri Uejké fled from there and arrived at Cucuf. From there Slópuri Uejké fled to Sotawí, and Ereya kept on pursuing him to San Carlos and then continued to San Felipe. Ereya returned from San Felipe to Cucuf. And there was the boundary of Brazil and Colombia.

Then Ereya went down to San Gabriel. When he arrived at Yavaraté and asked Yúpurí Baúro III to give him his daughter in marriage. Then Ereya asked Yúpurí Baúro III for personnel to go and work the rubber. Then Yúpurí Baúro III gave Ereya ten men to go to take out rubber. Ereya returned again to Yúpurí Baúro III with merchandise and again asked for personnel, and Yúpurí Baúro III gave him 20 men the second time. And of these 20 men, 5 died. And only 15 of the 20 men returned. And Ereya again asked for personnel, and this third time Yúpurí Baúro III gave him 10 men. And of these 10 men, 5 died and 5 came back to Yúpurí Baúro III. Then Yúpurí Baúro III became angry with Ereya. Then Yúpurí Baúro III said to Ereya: "Why do you enter my country? Those are the same conditions in which you took the country of my brother Slópuri Uejké. My brother was afraid of you, but I am not

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afraid. You are my third brother and you can not fight with me. I will kill you." And right there Yúpurí Baúro III killed Ereya and the wife of Ereya, who was the daughter of Yúpurí Baúro III and who was named Dujigó. And besides Ereya, Yúpurí Baúro III killed 20 Brazilians. Five Brazilians left running. As soon as Yúpurí Baúro III had killed these 20 Brazilians, Yúpurí Baúro III gathered together all of his people to make war against the Brazilians. Then Yúpurí Baúro III said to Urémirí Sáraro II: "Now we are going to fight against the Brazilians." Urémirí Sáraro II. /four pages of illustrations appear here/ /137/ named Parisá II as colonel. Then Urémirí Sáraro II named Yúpurí Búbera II as inspector. And these people were to recruit personnel for the war. In Yavaraté, Urémirí Sáraro II left 20 battallions, and each battallion had 1,000 men. In Yavaraté, but on the side of the Vaupés River, Urémirí Sáraro II left 20 more battallions. And 60 battallions stayed at the customhouse of Yavaraté. Ereya had already come with 40 launches and many men from Manaos. And Urémirí Sáraro II did away with the 40 launches of Ereya. Not one single soldier of Urémirí Sáraro II died. Then Ereya sent another commission, and this second time Ereya sent 90 launches full of soldiers. And these 90 launches full of soldiers killed only 10 soldiers of Urémirí Sáraro II. And of the 90 launches, not one remained; Urémirí Sáraro II did away with all of them. Ereya sent a third commission of 80 launches and these 80 launches killed about 20 men of Urémirí Sáraro II. And Urémirí Sáraro II destroyed the 80 launches. The fourth time Ereya only sent 60 launches, and these 60 launches did not kill one single man of Urémirí Sáraro II. But Urémirí Sáraro II destroyed all the launches. The fifth time, Ereya only sent 40 launches, and these 40 launches did not kill one single man of Urémirí Sáraro II either. But Urémirí Sáraro II destroyed the 40 launches. Then Ereya sent 20 launches, and Urémirí Sáraro II also destroyed those 20 launches. And with these last 20 launches, Ereya had no more launches. Ereya saw that he could do no more with Urémirí Sáraro II and he sent one launch. And this launch came to ask pardon of

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman extracting the poisonous juice and the starch from the grated bitter yuca.

Upper right corner: Two Yuruti women performing the same operation.

Lower left corner: Tukano man pounding coca roasted at the fire.

Lower right corner: Tukano boy rowing. Note the typical position in which he is seated.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper left corner: Yuruti woman using the planter's stick ("digging stick") in the garden.

Upper right corner: Typical way of carrying the baskets where the roots of bitter yuca are put.

Lower part: Two views of Siriano Indians in typical seated position.

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Upper part: Yuruti woman grating bitter yuca.

Lower part: Siriano man weaving balaya (basket).

(Photos by M. Fulop.)

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Typical maloca (house) of the Tukano linguistic group. (Photos by M. Fulop.)

3: Fulop--53 E-5 (1953) 1954

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Urémiri Sáraro II. And then Urémiri Sáraro II asked Yúpuri Baúro III: "What shall we do?" Then Yúpuri Baúro III said: "Ereya must stay in San Gabriel." Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Yepára Oakajpeá: "You stay in Yavaraté, I am going down below Manao and below Pará." And Yúpuri Baúro III still lives there with his family.

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And from San Gabriel to Yavaraté was free land that did not belong to the Brazilians, but the Monfortian Fathers were foreigners and did not know this, and that is why they built the missions in Yavaraté. And the Brazilians went upriver little by little until they reached Yavaraté.

3: Fulop

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/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

3: Fulop

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/For the text of the Tucano myth entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", see category 116,
pp. 8-49, 54./